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While the political strength of a family is seen not only in the succession of interest but in a propensity for members of a family to vote *en bloc*, this is far from invariably true. The schism separating Jesse Kirk from his half-brother, Joseph, is one prominent instance—and by no means the only one—to the contrary. In fact, alignment within the family and extended kin has often been modified by contending considerations.

Nonetheless, for some leaders the solidarity of family sometimes took precedence over impartiality in the discharge of office. One tribal council member is quoted as defending his action favoring certain enrollments by the explanation ". . . that since two children were his niece's children, he felt that it was his duty to guard the interests of his minor relatives."[9] Political leaders, seeking to emphasize the purity of their motives, needed to go no further in justification than to declare that they sought only the welfare of their grandchildren.

Although intermarriage and alternative associations have long overlaid clear identification with the several peoples who had entered into the treaty, such affiliations have continued to exert political force, however greatly diminished in recent years. In turn, they related to the two broad communities on the reservation. The Lower End remained predominantly Klamath, while Modoc, Paiute, as well as a number of Klamath and Pit River, comprised the Upper End community some forty miles away. Even after the closing of the subagency at Yainax, the populations of Sprague River and Beatty continued to reflect the special character of the eastern reservation.

In turn, the relatively easier access of the Lower End to outside influences—a subject already reviewed in discussing modern tribal demography—superimposed the effects of differential acculturation and intermarriage upon the traditional subtribal allegiances that distinguished the two Ends. Difficulty of travel along the road from the Agency to Yainax had given rise to the practice, long maintained, of holding separate councils at each place. Thus at the two Ends there had developed political communities responsive to their own local leaders. Harrison Brown, in 1931, played upon a familiar theme when he recognized in Wade Crawford, a leader from the Lower End ". . . a young man who is not a full-blood, who is trying to stir up trouble and we

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*648 might be exploited instrumentally to broaden the base of appeal.
*657 Other devices entailed the manipulation of particularistic
665 loyalties. Politicians from the less populous and ethnically more
619 diverse Upper End endeavored to retain districting, whereby the members of the executive body were elected in equal numbers by each End; and they also sought to preserve communal representation, which ensured that each of the traditional subtribal groups, Pit River and Paiute, as well as Modoc and Klamath, would find a place in that body. These measures were opposed as a matter of course by Crawford, the Lower End leader; but it was he in turn who had been responsible for the election in 1927 in which only the Lower End took part, thus creating a second tribal council and precipitating the Bureau's demand for a tribal constitution.

*648 The tactics employed to control voting were diverse. In general
*657 elections, Jackson favored restriction of voting to polling places
665 located on the reservation, against attempts by his rival to secure
619 absentee balloting, a measure that would swell the response from
646 his off-reservation constituency. For General Council meetings,
666 Jackson sought to continue the practice of alternating their site between the Ends, and for those held at the Agency he provided stages at tribal expense to transport members from the Upper End.

Seating within the General Council was conventionally by faction, a device that provided an easy check upon voting regularity, although the chairs along the wall afforded a retreat for the less partisan. Jackson further favored a standing vote,[12] while Crawford, particularly while he was out of power, called instead for a secret ballot. Each side on occasion exercised the boycott to prevent the mustering of a quorum when the issue was likely to go against it,[13] and Crawford also resorted to the filibuster, under cover of which his forces might withdraw in order to attain the same end. Each also strove, when he no longer controlled the executive body, to route business instead through the General Council.

*648 In the recruitment of a following, leaders found many occasions
*657 to render personal services, appointing the faithful to tribal
665 positions, serving as advocate in their favor, sponsoring the enroll-
619 ment of their children as tribal members, or advancing them
• 661

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money from the tribal fund set aside for the purpose. Interlocking memberships of the Executive Committee, the Enrollment Committee, and the Loan Board made those bodies the apex of tribal power. If the first-named was the central body, and important particularly in relations with agencies beyond the Tribe, the other two were no less essential in the administration of patronage.

The Tribal Loan Board had been established to preside over a fund set aside from the Yamsay Judgment of 1938, by which the issue of the Military Road had finally been settled. The fund had been designed to provide capital advances for tribal members, many of whom found bankers reluctant to lend to them. Although loans were supposed to be applied only to improvements, it became common practice to spend them merely as an anticipation of the next per capita. When the Bureau called a halt to its operations in 1955, the Board had out on loan approximately a half-million dollars, or the equivalent of almost $250 per member, and a collector had to be engaged to recover a sizeable portion of it.[14]

The Enrollment Committee was the third seat of power. Admission of one's children to tribal membership was eagerly sought, and not alone for reasons of sentiment. Once he was a tribal member, a child was vested with a pro-rata share of the undivided tribal estate, amounting at the time of termination to some $43,500. In addition he qualified to receive the per capita dividends that, subject to Agency restriction, were commonly drawn upon to defray current family living expenses.

Despite—and sometimes because of—these tactical measures, by which partisan leaders strove to bind them, many tribal members were driven into abstention by the bitter contentions that marked the final generation of tribal life. Although hundreds flocked to the luncheon set out at tribal expense in the Council Hall for those attending the General Council, morning meetings failed so frequently to draw a quorum that they were discontinued; and even afternoon sessions sometimes could not muster one hundred adults from among the thronging diners to transact tribal business. When they did come, they were often in holiday mood, frequently interrupting speakers, and exhibiting a keen appreciation for lengthy, eloquent, and often irrelevant harangues